

Message Text

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NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-15 TRSE-00 MBFR-04

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7234

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 12670

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, GW

SUBJECT: MBFR: ALLIANCE POSITION IN NEGOTIATING
STRATEGY

REF: A) BONN 12588; B) BONN 12584; C) BONN 12392

BEGIN SUMMARY: DURING SEPTEMBER 3 CONVERSATION WITH
EMBOFF, FONOFF MBFR EXPERT RUTH ACKNOWLEDGED HARDENING
DEFENSE MINISTRY POSITION ON STATIONED-INDIGENOUS/
COMMON CEILING ISSUES, VOICED SOMEWHAT MORE FORTHCOMING
POSITION IN SUPPORT OF US PROPOSALS ON NEGOTIATING
STRATEGY, AND ELABORATED ON FRG WISHES CONCERNING
CONSTRAINTS AREA. END SUMMARY.

1. COMMON CEILING AGREEMENT. RUTH CONFIRMED THAT,
IN FRG INTER-MINISTERIAL DISCUSSIONS, DEFENSE MINISTRY
OFFICIALS ARE DEMANDING THAT ALLIANCE MUST, AS
INTERNAL POSITION, MAKE COMMON CEILING AGREEMENT IN
MBFR I A PRECONDITION TO SIGNING INITIAL REDUCTION
AGREEMENT LIMITED TO US AND SOVIET FORCES. RUTH SAID
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THIS STIFFENING DEFENSE MINISTRY POSITION WAS MAKING

IT DIFFICULT FINALLY TO RESOLVE LONG-STANDING ISSUE CONCERNING STATIONED AND INDIGENOUS FORCE REDUCTIONS. HE SAID FONOFF WOULD CONTINUE TO PRESS WITHIN GERMAN GOVERNMENT FOR POSITION DESCRIBED REFTEL C PARA 6, NAMELY, THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD PRESS THE SOVIETS HARD FOR SOVIET AGREEMENT IN MBFR I ON COMMON CEILING GOAL. IN CONTRAST TO THE DEFENSE MINISTRY, RUTH SAID THE FONOFF WAS NOT INSISTING ON SOVIET AGREEMENT TO COMMON CEILING GOAL AS PRECONDITION TO MBFR I AGREEMENT. BUT FONOFF REPS WOULD HOPE THAT US PERM REP AT NATO WOULD SOON SPELL OUT US COMMITMENT IN COUNCIL TO MAKE STRONG EFFORT TO SECURE SOVIET AGREEMENT TO COMMON CEILING IN MBFR I.

2. NEGOTIATING STRATEGY. AFTER REITERATING FRG SUPPORT FOR GENERAL LINES OF US PROPOSAL ON NEGOTIATING STRATEGY (REF B), RUTH TOOK SOMEWHAT MORE FORTHCOMING POSITION ON THE SUBSTANCE OF FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL TO BE ADVANCED TO SOVIETS IN THE FIRST TWO TO FOUR MONTH ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS. HE SAID THE FRG DID NOT OBJECT TO THE USE OF THE FIGURES (15 PER CENT--US/SOVIET, 10 PER CENT--OVER-ALL NATO) ADVANCED BY THE US FOR INITIAL FRAMEWORK PROPOSALS AS LONG AS THOSE FIGURES WERE ACTUALLY APPROVED AS PART OF ALLIANCE POSITION; (RUTH DID NOT CONTEST THE FIGURES FOR PURPOSES OF ALLIANCE POSITION). RUTH ADDED THE CONDITION, SPELLED OUT REF B PARA 1, THAT US PROPOSED NEGOTIATING STRATEGY WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE "CRYSTAL CLEAR" TO SOVIETS IF IT WAS TO SURVIVE SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATING PROCESS. COMMENT: THIS LAST POINT IS VERY STRONGLY HELD BY FRG OFFICIALS IN BOTH FONOFF AND DEFENSE MINISTRY. IT REFLECTS SUBSTANTIAL GERMAN AGREEMENT WITH BRITISH CONCERN THAT ANY WESTERN NEGOTIATING POSITION

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IS BOUND TO BE BOILED DOWN CONSIDERABLY IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE RUSSIANS. ON THE OTHER HAND, FRG IS SEEKING TO ACCORD US SUPPORT ON NEGOTIATING STRATEGY PROBLEM. END COMMENT.

3. CONSTRAINTS AREA. IN RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH EMBOFF, RUTH HAS EXPRESSED ACUTE UNDERSTANDING OF US CONCERN THAT CONSTRAINTS AREA MORE EXTENSIVE THAN REDUCTION AREA COULD ATTRACT SOVIET DEMANDS FOR INCLUSION OF FBS IN MBFR. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING INEVITABLE SOVIET DEMANDS FOR RECIPROCITY, FONOFF REPS HAVE IN THE LAST WEEK AGAIN BEGUN TO EMPHASIZE THEIR WISH THAT CONSTRAINTS AREA BE MORE EXTENSIVE THAN REDUCTION AREA. IN SEPTEMBER 3 CONVERSATION, RUTH SPOKE OF SOMEHOW REQUIRING THAT SOVIET FORCES WITHDRAWN FROM REDUCTION AREA BE REDEPLOYED EAST OF SOVIET WESTERN MILITARY DISTRICTS; HE ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER POSSIBLE ENTRY OF SOVIET FORCES, PRESENTLY EAST OF WMD INTO WESTERN MILITARY DISTRICTS.

4. COMMENT: THESE GERMAN CONCERNS SEEM TO BE THE SECRET

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PRODUCT OF MILITARY CONSIDERATION THAT SOVIET FORCES REDUCED IN MBFR SHOULD REDEPLOY MORE THAN THE 500 KMS SEPARATING SOVIET/POLISH AND GDR BORDER. PERHAPS MORE SIGNIFICANTLY, THEY SEEM TO REFLECT GERMAN GOVERNMENT ALERTNESS TO CDU OPPOSITION PUBLIC CRITICISM, REPEATED RATHER OFTEN IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS, THAT MBFR COULD LEAD TO LIMITED DISARMAMENT NEUTRALIZATION ZONE IN CENTRAL EUROPE. GIVEN THESE DIVERGENT PRESSURES, FRG IS STILL SEEKING TO FORMULATE A POSITION ACCEPTABLE TO ITS ALLIES, DEFENDABLE IN TERMS OF DOMESTIC POLITICAL CRITICISM AND OBJECTIVELY RELATED TO POLITICAL/MILITARY REALITIES OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. HILLENBRAND

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